

ADDRESS

16

BEFORE THE

PEACE CONVENTION,


HELD IN BOSTON, MARCH 14 & 15, 1866;

BY

ALFRED H. LOVE,
Of Philadelphia.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

HOPEDALE, MASS., "AGE" OFFICE PRINT,
MDCCC LX VI.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from

This project is made possible by a grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services as administered by the Pennsylvania Department of Education through the Office of Commonwealth Libraries

ADDRESS
BEFORE THE
PEACE CONVENTION,

HELD IN BOSTON, MARCH 14 & 15, 1866 ;

BY

ALFRED H. LOVE,
Cf Philadelphia.

PUBLISHED BY REQUEST.

HOPEDALE, MASS., "AGE" OFFICE PRINT,
M DCCC LXVI.

A D D R E S S .

GOOD FRIENDS ALL;—

The world would put us upon trial. Among the interrogatories that have come to me from persons in various States, are the following : —

“ Who are the advocates of Peace, and where were they during the late war ? ”

“ What do they advocate ? ”

“ Why do they advocate Peace at this time ? ”

“ What is their plan of procedure ? ”

As “ a soft answer turneth away wrath,” so may ours dedicated unto truth and righteousness attract that spirit which maketh for peace and repel that which maketh for war.

Whether in agreement or disagreement, whether consistent or inconsistent with the high professions of pure Peace Principles, we who appeal to you will not arrogate to ourselves immaculate wisdom or unfaltering devotion. All we can bring to you is a clear conviction that *all wars and fightings are wrong, and being wrong ought to be abolished.*

We know the delicate ground upon which we stand and the hosts of opponents surrounding us. But if we have not a conviction beyond the genius of sophistry ; a desire above popular approbation ; a record equal to criticism ; a love superior to any one's hate ; a divinity because of our allegiance to God, and an inspiration from that incorruptible Source to sustain us even in martyrdom, we had better make no move for Universal Peace.

We know what is right—let us unite to help each other ; and as all divinity was not monopolized by one creation of our Heavenly Father, we his children, possessing each a portion

thereof, may by love one to the other become in some way saviors to some extent.

But we may stand aghast at our own hypocrisy. We profess gold and practice pewter. The astronomer brings the stars to us by the wonderful power of the telescope, but the stars look through the other end of the glass and the man of science is sent adrift into the distance a—pigmy. We thus bring peace to us; whereas it looks us in the face, through the large end of the glass, and who shall measure the distance?

Our professions mean looking through the small end, magnifying peace until it seems within our grasp, while practice is reversing the instrument when we see how insignificant and afar off we are.

But I have faith to believe that there is so much of sincerity and true humanity in this movement, that it has the prestige of success. I have faith that with all we have behind us in the history of 6000 years, proving the utter fallacy of war; with all we have around us, warning us of its horrors and negations; and with all before us of opportunity and promise, we may press onward with hope and confidence.

I come from Philadelphia, the city founded by the plain quaker, William Penn, under a government having no precedent in history, against the advice of worldly men, and in the midst of savages, on principles of Non-Resistance.

His government existed in its purity, unimpaired, the same length of time as that of these United States. A strange coincidence! It would have continued but for the adoption of carnal weapons as a means of defence, by those who succeeded to it after the death of Penn and his immediate followers.

The advocates of peace in Philadelphia are many and earnest. The Society of Friends continues to bear a thorough testimony against all wars and fightings. I have been attending a series of five meetings, for its consideration, in one of their largest meeting houses. There was, throughout, a liberal spirit and a beautiful harmony of feeling and purpose. A unity existed in the very diversity of opinions, because every one

acknowledged war wrong, and differed only as to the limits of a non-resistant policy ; which difference was humbly acknowledged to be in accordance with individual development.

There were some who held for peace with a resistance under certain circumstances to a certain extent. For instance :—under the law of benevolence, of “doing unto others as ye would they should do unto you”,—under the law of being in the right state of mind,—and under the law of necessity.

But I am happy to say a prompt and vigorous protest was maintained to such a peace. For the law of benevolence was defined to cover such feeling for country, such protection of family or such rescuing of friends, as would inevitably result in carnal resistance and grow into war. The law of resistance, “being in the right state of mind,” was proven the subtle excuse of almost every one resorting to carnal weapons. And resistance “under the law of necessity,” was shown so transparent an innovation of the principle of peace, that it was entirely inadmissible. Every one would have his own limit and his own solution for the time to strike. Therefore all such conditions of peace were repudiated, because they would make for war. If we mean peace, we must accept of no provisos or compromises. Any license means defection. If we “give an inch, they will take an ell;” and I will neither yield nor accept the thousandth part of an inch.

The recent war offers several instances where the true non-resistance principle was confirmed. The twelve Friends in North Carolina, who were conscripted into the rebel army and refused to serve, give us encouragement. They were in our city, and these facts are true:

They were forced into the ranks ; muskets were offered, but they refused to touch them. Every conceivable outrage was heaped upon them. They were tied up, starved and whipped ; and then the muskets were strapped to their bodies. Still they remained firmly attached to their conscientious convictions. On one occasion the officer in charge, being lawless and brutal, ordered one of these men to be shot, as an exam-

ple. A file of soldiers was called out and he was placed within twelve feet of them, when, raising his eyes and hands to heaven, he cried out in a loud voice: "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." Instantly came the order to fire; but, instead of obeying it, the men dropped their muskets, declaring they could not kill such a man.

This so enraged the officer that he knocked his victim down in the road, and then strove repeatedly to trample him to death under his horse's feet. But the noble animal, true to his instincts, refused to even step over the prostrate body. He was then tied to an army wagon and with the others dragged to Gettysburg, where they again stontly declined to fight. In that battle their officer was killed, and they were taken prisoners and sent to Fort Delaware, where their history becoming known to our Government, they were speedily released.

The North Carolina Friends continued to maintain their testimony, though they suffered in many ways, and theirs was the only religious society, in that State, that held meetings regularly during the war, and the consequence has been an increase of over 300 new members.

In Philadelphia we had many gratifying examples: among them two young men were drafted and forced into the barracks; the military dress was placed upon them; but they would not touch the musket, and when ordered to drill would not budge. They refused to eat the government rations, giving as a reason, "if we cannot fight for the government, we should not eat its supplies."

This caused trouble with the others and they were frequently grossly abused. One day they were ordered to carry their knapsacks, which they declined doing, and the officer, becoming enraged at what he termed insubordination, commanded them to be tied up by the thumbs and whipped. A disturbance occurring in the streets caused this order to be neglected; and the case went to Washington and resulted in these young men being paroled *until wanted*.

Another case occurred within three blocks of my home. A

young man had been drafted and from conscientious scruples refused to serve. He was forced to wear the military uniform, and because he would not obey orders was thrown into prison, where he suffered greatly. The General commanding this department, hearing of it and finding the man bore an unimpeachable reputation, told him to go home quietly, and remain until he sent for him.

My own case was one that tested principle and government; and as I suppose we must answer the catechism, I will humbly refer to it without a single word for self, but all for principle. It may be well to doubt us, and to weigh and measure those who volunteer, as it were, to silence the batteries of nations. But as I act fearlessly, independently and conscientiously in this matter, I shall place my trust in the Higher Power and try to "stand fire." There are some *commissions* we cannot safely decline. My business is that of a Commission Merchant, and I hope never to feel so trammelled by the so called consistency of the vocation, that I cannot accept those commissions which contribute to the good, either of the inner or the outward life—the commissions of our Father, as well as those of a brother.

At the breaking out of the war I saw clearly that I could not sell war goods. Declining to take a place in the ranks, or to pay an equivalent therefore, I felt it would not be fair to make money out of the war, and therefore declined all consignments of army goods, though there were days when I could have made thousands of dollars. Consignors and customers may have been offended; *but I had my peace!* The party with whom I was engaged thought differently, and we separated.

Having always refused to pay the Militia tax, the tax-receiver has said he charged it, and whenever the amount shall become of sufficient magnitude, he will enter my house and take an equivalent: which man's law will permit, but God's law deny.

As the war became more terrible and the demand for troops greater, that horror of horrors, drafting, came. My name was

among the first drawn. It seemed very strange to receive the summons:—drafted to serve in the army of the United States. I asked myself what response have I to make? I, so full of loyalty and patriotism that I know not where the limit is to country, or the end of affection for mankind, and for whose sake I would cheerfully yield my life.

Feeling I was a conscript the very day of my birth—a conscript to serve in the army of the Lord—I had but one answer to make:—Dear country and good friends all, I cannot serve two masters. My first allegiance is to God. He claims me first and last. My country claims me always for every moral cause and course. I would not unnecessarily embarrass the execution of the law. I regretted being drafted for the single reason that I preferred not to add to the complications of the Government already painfully encompassed with trials, which I would gladly lessen rather than increase. But my obligations to my Heavenly Father, the dictates of conscience, and the sacred love I bore my country and my countrymen left me no room for hesitation as to duty. Therefore, I declined conforming to the four active provisions of the law, but could comply with the last—the fifth, or passive order. I could not enter the service in any capacity whatever, having ever held, throughout my life, that all wars and fightings were wrong.

I could not comply with the provision to furnish a substitute, holding it to be wrong to ask another to do for us that which we would not do for ourselves.

I could not comply with the provision to pay \$300, or even the hundredth part thereof, as a commutation fee; for it would be bartering my conscience and purchasing an “indulgence” for the divine right of its enjoyment. It would be giving the means with which to buy “flesh and blood” to take my place, and thus be the deepest hypocrisy.

I could not comply with the fourth provision of asking exemption because of physical disability; for, having a spiritual and conscientious plea as high as Heaven, why present

one merely material and as low as earth? I was sick of the many paltry excuses of disability and unconstitutionality made by those who would fly to arms at the slightest personal provocation. To plead the "physical disability" of defective sight would be dishonest and untruthful, for it was simply not the reason; for had I not been restrained by the Supreme Power, I would have entered the army of the United States long since, notwithstanding all near-sightedness; hence, it would be unjust to my impulses and ungrateful to God, to make a false issue. Further it would be contemptible to select just such a plea and accept just that part of military law, which suited my case.

But I could comply with the fifth provision:—deliver myself to the "powers that be," and for the sake of principle and for those holding the same testimony, submit to such penalties as were demanded or deserved.

The time was appointed for trial. Offers came of money and substitutes. One noble colored man called and said he knew me as a firm friend of the slave and did not wish me to go, so offered me a substitute; and if I objected to him because a colored man, he would find me one of my own color. Generous, self-sacrificing act—a sample of the race!

Others tendered the amount required and almost forced it into the hands of the officers. But how could I, how can any one holding war wrong, consent to be released under such circumstances?

Section 13 of the Conscription Act says: "The drafted person may pay such sum, not exceeding \$300, as the Secretary may determine, *for the procurement of such substitute.*" Now, those who, from conscientious scruples, decline furnishing a substitute, and yet willingly give government the means to procure such for them, are surely going a step further and availing of the offer of a third party—a government agent—to procure the substitute.

The demand made is for a human being to serve in the army, and not merely for money. Human beings must be supplied and money is only the means for their procurement. Any

one tendering money tenders a human being ; for the knowledge of the use to which it will be applied accompanies the act. Where the money is given even with explanation, the principle is but feebly upheld ; no *living* protest against war is offered, and no seed sown for the government of " peace on earth and good will to men."

The government has no more right to this money, *when God interposes*, than it has to our muscle. The *very* basis of our institutions is the right to life, property and conscience. The debtor and creditor relations with us are controlled by the one decided and long affirmed principle, that our first and highest obligation is to the Ruler of the Universe.

Government has not conferred property upon us as a bonus for merely living under it, nor can it in equity deprive us of property, in these special and individual cases, excepting for criminal offences. Our refusal to take part in war is not a criminal offence, but one of religious faith and conscience, well defined and upheld throughout our lives ; so that the enforcement of any penalty, for the maintenance of such, would be regarded always as an act of injustice and barbarism. And although, by the power of force and authority, the penalty may be exacted and obtained, it becomes only the government right through government might, and not by virtue of any high moral equity.

Therefore if we have worked for and honestly earned property—in a measure created it—we own it, and have a right to its use for all proper and moral purposes, but no right to it for any other. It becomes *part* of our motive power and responsibility. Thus, government has no moral claim to it for purposes which conscience holds immoral ; and it becomes the right, indeed the duty, of property holders, *under such circumstances*, to refuse, but not forcibly oppose, the demand. But if, after a fair statement of our deep conscientious convictions, we are required to yield, to do so with charity and prayer. That which is due, it is our duty to pay. But is this money due ? Most unhesitatingly—no ! If personal or agency service

is not due, the money, as the representative of either or both, is not.

Public testimony having been rendered by a life that proves the non-resistant principle ;—it having been religiously maintained ; trafficking in war goods, for personal aggrandizement, having been declined ; positions of honor or emolument, under the war power, having been refused ; irreconcilable complicity with government under a war constitution having been relinquished, and all from pure conscientious convictions—neither personal service, nor the money representative thereof, is due for direct war purposes.

In yielding willing obedience to this demand for money as a release, we do not merely recognize the power of the government, for that is not the object ; otherwise we might go a step farther, and fight. We too often do it to save ourselves, because we fear the consequences, or to save trouble, or because we have not courage to bear our testimonies to the end, even if to sacrifice and martyrdom. We do it, if we have the money, without a struggle ; in a measure voluntarily. We do it—mark the plea !—to enjoy the right of conscience. But such a right or such a conscience as can be purchased with money, for an advertised price, is not worth having ; and its possession cannot confer pure happiness. It becomes a commodity at will ; put up for a price, to be sold to the highest bidder. We thus become a contracting party with war ; we exercise a positive influence for its support ; and are accountable in the fullest meaning of the term.

Experience is a good teacher ; and I may be permitted to say that, as it appears to me, the payment of the commutation fee is one of the most weakening acts to one's conscience, and one of the saddest strokes to a principle or a testimony. How is it weakening ? How is it destructive ? Let me quote :

The Conscript was arraigned before the Board of Enrolment. His testimony was briefly, kindly and feelingly presented, and drew forth the scoffing reply :—"there is a law to make every man fight, and conscientious scruples will avail

nothing." The examining physician proved an Israelite, with little sympathy for one who took exception to the old Mosaic law of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," and had made the remark:—"Give me the case of Love—I will put him through." At the opening of the trial he appealed to a poor wounded Lieutenant, who with his shattered shoulder, enlisted the fullest love and sympathy, and he answered:—"Yes—every drafted man must fight, obey the law or be shot." An anxious father who stood by stated there was near-sightedness. To which the Board said: "The young man makes no plea of any physical disability"; which demanded the explanation, that the party presented himself in obedience to the law, and *if liable to military duty*, had but one reason to offer why he could not comply with any of the active provisions of the Act, but would humbly, charitably and prayerfully submit to the passive provision, of delivering himself to "the powers that be," and bear such penalties as were deserved or imposed for conscience's sake; that, although for fifteen years he had carried upon his face the badge of defective sight, he could not for reasons already given, present that defect as an excuse.

This simple statement met with the rejoinder, "that if there were no plea made, within the limits of the law, there could be none made for him." The law was then read, when the physician said, "I have no objection to examining his eyes, and if he will strip will see if we can find some physical disability." The latter was promptly declined, on the ground that the body was sound and healthy, and he wished to afford no opportunity for perjury. His eyes were then hastily examined in a very unsympathetic manner. The glasses were tried, and the decision made that, "although myopia existed, it was very slight, and not sufficient to exempt." His father, disappointed, asked if some physical disability could not be found. What! a true and devoted parent hoping to find some bodily imperfection in his son! Ah! it but proved the strength of parental affection. The doctor said, "Only by his consenting

to an examination." This was again refused, as he felt that he had gone far enough.

Then came proffers of money even from the detective, the Solicitor of the Board, and others. A promise had been previously exacted from his father not to pay for him. Some offers were made to find a substitute. All were firmly declined, and notice given not to receive the amount from any one; for, inasmuch as they had been so tenacious to stand by the strict letter of the law, and feeling that some one might quietly pay, (a course to be deprecated, and indeed illegal,) attention was called to the words of the law, viz: "The *drafted person* may pay such sum not exceeding \$300, and thereupon *such person paying the money* shall be discharged."

The name was then registered, height, size of chest, features, etc. noted, and an appeal made to change such "foolish notion," for "he would be published as a deserter, and perhaps dragged from his home to camp, and thus kill his mother." It was suggested that if three days would change his mind, they would be granted. But the answer came—he was in their power. This was the work of thirty-three years, and it was not likely that three days would undo it; and as for killing his mother, or his wife, he hoped they were too wise and faithful to be killed because of harsh treatment to him, at a time when they, perhaps, were most required to live.

However, of their own accord the paper was marked "time extended," and he went home on his three days of grace.

During this period, the superior officer or surgeon desired an interview, and a personal examination of his eyes. On this occasion he was fairly tested, and so much of near-sightedness discovered as to admit of a doubt; and finding his principles still inflexible,—for they again made test and game of them,—the Board announced "there was a doubt existing, and the party should have the benefit of such doubt, and as he would be of no use to them, should have a certificate of non-liability." Thus he was released. He then told them he was ready and willing to aid suffering humanity wherever found—sick and wounded soldiers, or the freedmen.

Kind and encouraging words came from many gathered round, which proved the firm testimony of anti-war in all its forms was not entirely unappreciated, while a father's voice choked with thankfulness to the Board and Government. This case, with others, was sent to Washington, and resulted in the enactment of a salutary law providing for such cases.

I would call attention to the *effect* of paying the commutation fee. If, at any stage of this trial the amount had been paid by either the party or his friends, how *weakening* it would have been ! The principle would not have been tested ; the seed would not have been planted.

There is always a duty we have in looking into the effect the payment of money will have upon the payer. We have three positions to examine. Firstly, Is the demand just ? Secondly, Will the money be applied to moral purposes ? and Thirdly, Will the payment strengthen the conscience of the payer ? To all which, in this case, we respond negatively.

I am well aware of the almost sacred character of governmental obligations, and honor that man who will comply with them all, so far as they do not contravene his first and highest duties to our Lord and Master. The blessings we enjoy under our Republican institutions and the generosity of our government, manifested toward the close of the late war, by respecting conscientious scruples, are far beyond our power to requite with money ; and the simple tribute we render in the shape of taxes is but a meagre representative of true patriotism, and as far from meeting all the demands of our country, as the tacit compliance with merely human laws is inadequate to the fulfillment of all our Christian duties.

There is a marked distinction between tribute and commutation money.

Tribute is an annual or stated sum, or other valuable thing paid to a nation, in acknowledgement of some favors, or for its maintenance by virtue of established law or treaty, or simply a stated tax levied by a government upon all its subjects. Whereas, commutation is an exchanging or bartering, or the

substitution of a less for a greater penalty ; a bargaining for an exemption from something ; and is employed in special but not in general cases.

We may very properly pay the former, as subdivided into taxes, duties, and excise stamps and notes, (for they are levied on all alike, in proportion to the amount of property or business,) and is general in its character, and not confined to individuals for unexpected and special reasons, as in the case of conscription. Tribute money may involve nothing of conscience. It relieves from no particular suffering, different from all others in the community. It is a regular, expected and legitimate payment. While to pay commutation is to presuppose the purchase of some favor or advantage ; to exchange one condition for another more agreeable ; to commute some suffering ;—a very easy mode, indeed, for those who have the means, and when admitted as proper, a very comfortable one to avoid the imbruing our hands with blood.

Be encouraged, by remembering God will not put more upon us than we are able to bear.

We want no pretended conscientious scruples ; no cowardly conversions ; no non-resistance pleas only when overpowered and forced to submission. But we want the fullest conviction, united with moral courage to sustain it. Intending no conflict with Section 25 of the Conscription Act, which would inflict punishments upon those who “ wilfully dissuade from the performance of military duty,” we shall hope never to lose our charity for those who differ, but earnestly and fearlessly cultivate the growth of the pure Christ-like principle of non-resistance, because we love so fervently our whole country, and are so deeply concerned for the present and future happiness of it, and our countrymen ; and because we feel that such a position is full of Christian loyalty and patriotism, meaning nothing idle or indifferent, but demanding at once every effort of moral power to *remove the causes of war*, and extend a helping hand to suffering humanity wherever found, without hesitating to ask the question—How came they so ?

Friends, I am here for the single purpose of giving my humble influence for the cause of truth and righteousness. And it seems to me that here we might rest our case, as a sufficient answer to the query: What do you advocate?

The first question a speaker should ask himself before uttering a word, is—"What good will be accomplished? Am I influenced in recommending a moral policy, and improving the condition of my fellow-men, or is my purpose merely one of head, and not of heart?" Every word spoken or written for war is calculated to weaken man's highest spiritual impressions and aspirations, and justify practices brutal and wicked, unchrist-like, and wholly unchristian. The war doctrine needs no champions. It sadly is in the ascendant throughout the world; and I have a tear of pity and of love for that friend of true peace principles who gives way to the immense pressure of the present, with all its engrossing facts and hopeful anticipations.

During the late war I was met frequently with the remark,— "How about non-resistance now?" There can be but one answer. I never felt more deeply its power and necessity. Some one says,— "I ignore the power of God's momentum, and the instrumentalities through which he works on the earth." Far from it! I recognize his laws omnipotent, his plans mysterious, and his purposes perfect; while the instrumentalities through which he works I regard as adapted to his ends; and while he gives a free agency to man, he institutes certain natural laws that are understood only by close examination, study and revelation. We find, if we disobey the laws of health, we suffer sickness. If we inflict a wound upon the body, we suffer pain. So it is if we neglect the laws of morality, we become liable to retributive justice. Thus the wickedness of our nation culminates in war. Its cause, then, is the wickedness of man; and being wicked in its inception, it cannot become virtuous, except by ignoring the basis. And those who struggle for the right, through these same wicked means, accept that which is wrong, and therefore cannot consecrate any

righteous cause. The remedy is to be found in adopting a Christ-like spirit of non-resistance; such, indeed, as repudiates all merely brutal and carnal opposition, all maledictions upon adversaries, and accepts and adopts the open-handed and open-hearted resistance of moral forces. A firm reliance upon the unconquerable force of virtue, uniting with a Christian submission, kind acts and sympathy, determined protest, earnest appeal, constant petition and hopeful martyrdom, and in the end adopting the sweet spirit of "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

If we wish to accomplish miracles, let such be the watch-word of our race. It may be called impracticable, or even ridiculous, but let us try it. It surely is time to try something different from the old plan. It means no weak or sickly inactivity, no unconcerned or cowardly interest, no conceited or uncharitable bearing in the great issues of the present, or the history of the world. No! it inspires to the greatest activity of intellect and affection. The work becomes immense, anxious, unremitted, and courageous; at once the light of patriotism and humanity. Let it then be tested! Let a people espouse it! Let each one of us add our neighbor; he his, and so on; and, once established upon the basis of non-resistance, all would be well.

I have never met any one, however combative in his feelings, but he acknowledged that non-resistance was right, and war wrong; but he would declare, at the same time, the former seemed impossible, and the latter unavoidable. If non-resistance be right, and war wholly wrong, why not adopt the one, and reject the other? And the only course to secure that end is for each one to hold firmly to his convictions.

We must begin sometime. I have waited over a score and a half of years, and have never seen the breathing time when there was no war; and as I read, as I live, I find no gain in procrastination.

Let such stand as our answer to the question—"Why advocate Peace principles now?"

"Trust no future howe'er pleasant,
 Let the dead past bury its dead ;
 Act—act in the living present,
 Heart within and God o'erhead !"

And when the occasion arises, and the trial is before us—severe as the trial, and deep as our sympathies may be with the cause of our government—we must not forget there is a higher tribunal and a more exalted excellence ; and when we are permitted to comprehend it, let us not disregard the revelation, nor even for a moment descend to a lower plane. But filled with a conscious gushing of fraternal love, act with the inspiration, and seek to elevate others to the same sphere of moral greatness and supreme happiness. This is a virtue of our being, a grandeur of our creation, uncontracted by geographical lines, and untrammelled by any fortuitous circumstances of birth or adoption ; but, literally and liberally the whole soul of mankind, wishing well to the entire world, and seeking to advance every condition of the human family.

True, it may contravene the plighted faith, the national vow to observe constitutions, and decisions, and laws, however they may militate against freedom, right, justice and Christian duty. It may upset the grave deceit that "consistency," as the world goes, "is a jewel;" for how often it proves but dross ! It holds men to old and rigid usages, that may be, and often are, illiberal and unjust ; and if a step be taken to improve or advance, it is called inconsistent. So with Constitutions. When a move is made for the right, some who oppose declare it unconstitutional. Congress declared that the Territories should be free ; that slavery should be abolished in the District of Columbia ; that the ministers from Hayti and Liberia should be recognized ; that the slave trade should be abolished ; the President issued a Proclamation, glorious in its conception, and hopeful in its execution, that slavery should be forever abolished in our land ; and thousands declared all this unconstitutional. It is thus that consistency and constitutions may become millstones upon the neck of human progress

I mean nothing disrespectful or unpatriotic, but everything pure, steadfast, and citizen-like. It may partake of a cosmopolitan character; but are we intended, as God's children, to confine and cramp our respect and our allegiance merely to State and to laws, because they are our own, however they may oppress humanity, and fall short of what a careful and conscientious inquiry teaches us is right?—right to ourselves in our highest moral development—right to our fellow-men of every color, sect and condition—right to our country, which we crave to perpetuate in prosperity and morality—and right to our impartial Father in return for his immense blessings of life, light, bounty and beauty. The purest type of human nature, the real manhood, assimilating as near as possible to the Godhood, is over and above the plane of mere conventional consistency and unjust constitutional obligations; and while it accepts the good of such, as ladder-rounds for its upward step, because of the sincere spirit in which it is offered, it must reject all complicity with, or endorsement of the arm of war.

The great moral force of Anti-Slavery, wielded by the strong arm of argument, reason and martyrdom, worked upon our people and caused the revolution. Yes, here is the potency, the supremacy of the moral forces over the immoral forces. Petition, argument, appeal, prayer, and unremitted effort of tongue, pen and example, may cause some great outbreak or revolution that eventuates in war. With that the non-resistant has nothing to do. He works for the principle; and when the struggle culminates in war, because men do not control their passions, he does not seize the sword, and thus descend from his higher position, but he faithfully argues and appeals for the right, and the moral status of society. The Abolitionists, for a score and a half of years, have been resisting slavery, and contending for the rights of man, by all the moral forces of their nature, upon the sublime principle of non-resistance. Had they gone to war with carnal weapons, the divine cause of Anti-Slavery would not be where it is to-day. And if the result of the late war shall be the overthrow of slavery, it will

be the victory of a thirty years' war of constant tuition, earnest appeal, unremitted example, frequent sacrifices, and noble martyrdom of the Anti-Slavery people. And so long as they stand firmly by their grand moral principles, and will abjure the use of every element that is immoral, they will receive and deserve success. They can afford to let the lesson work. Without them, war could never abolish slavery—with them, war can never do it, if they do not, in the majesty of their God-like sentiments and their very soul-aspirations, cling to their original and ever animating principles of love, justice and humanity.

Be true to ourselves and the convictions of our own souls, and we shall make our cause sacred, and insure success. Less suffering will result from the non-resistant than from the war policy. We can count upon our fingers the number of lives lost by adhering to the former. But what research of statistics can give us the number sacrificed by the latter? What if blood should flow from a combined appeal for truth, justice and right upon the principles of non-resistance! May it not consecrate the cause by its being *innocent* blood? Surely, those who lay such stress upon the blood of Christ, because of its innocence and purity, ought to be willing for the same sad offering now.

If we speak with the tongue of peace, let it be with no pretended, partisan, deceitful plea for morality, like that we meet with in some political circles, using the sublime virtue for the basest purposes. Let it be no made-up conscientiousness, merely for the occasion, having unjust compromises, unholy alliances, and unhappy reconstructions in view; but upon the basis of the fullest recognition and confidence of the principles of the "meek and lowly Jesus," studying those things which make for Peace!

The sooner our government rejects the sword, upon the conviction that all wars and fightings are wrong in the sight of Heaven, and is prepared to suffer martyrdom for the sake of righteousness; determined to "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free," and to acknowledge the brotherhood of man, with mercy and justice in all things; to treat as trai-

torous and rebellious all States that persist in continuing so ; to respect all the rights of humanity, giving them all the advantages that by their worth they may be entitled to ; withdrawing any odium or prejudice upon the statute-books that may militate against citizenship, and prove to our Father, that it is determined to respect and treat as members of the same human family all children of his creation :—the sooner our government accepts this, indeed carries out in good faith its original promises, the sooner it will bring war to an end ; and it will never end, in true peace, until it shall do so.

There are many changes to be wrought yet before it can come. The very heart of man must change. Shall it be that further trials are to do it ; that the coils of horrid war are to encircle and tighten still more upon us, until we are forced to see the sad errors we have committed, the wickedness we are guilty of, and the vast debt of ingratitude and sin that has accumulated against us ? Until we see that injustice, deceit and oppression will react, and we be willing to ignore them. Until we see that our injustice to the Indian causes continual trouble ; that we are deceptive in sending missionaries to convert and armies to coerce, driving them from domains granted them and withholding just payment ; refusing to recognize their nationality, to permit their religion, and give them a home where they may remain forever secure ? Until we alter the consistency of sending missionaries to China and throughout the world, and yet, at the same time, accepting contracts to build vessels of war ; thus pluming ourselves with so much of morality that we may Christianize, and yet providing the means for waging war that we may demoralize,—in fact being ourselves engrossed in the monstrous crime which at once subverts the ten commandments and the beatitudes ? Until we see that we have been verily guilty in enslaving God's children ; in casting an odium upon them because of color ; denying them the common rights of men and citizens ; taxing, trying, punishing—yes, accepting their services and their money in the prosecution of war as laborers and as soldiers, and yet

recognizing the wicked spirit of caste, and even withholding the poor privileges of officers and rank that belong to all? Look at it! Soliciting that co-operation when it would save white men from draft and perhaps preserve our nation, that co-operation which was once rejected when so promptly offered; ought it not to call for the promptest apology and fullest acknowledgment of all their rights; to give them any position their worth may entitle them to, for this is a country of worth and merit, not of color, sex or sect? Is it not time to condemn and deny so-called State rights that are moral wrongs?

We are suffering the penalties of past dishonor and wickedness, and, through the dreadful course of war, must be made to acknowledge it. Let the acknowledgment come promptly, and restitution be made as promptly. Let it prepare for a brighter and better life. Our endeared government may die! Yes, start not at the revolting idea! may die!—is dying now! The very government of this country has been under the Slave Power—that potent element is dying. Hard indeed, is the struggle: it is in the throes of death. When the honest head of our nation issued his immortal declaration of emancipation,—worthy to be enshrined with the Declaration of Independence, because hopeful, if not perfect,—it startled many; for it was a death-blow at the former life of our country, and with some portended distraction, a paralysis of the army, and a driving off of the border States. Still, the glorious deed was done, and, though under military necessity, so called, it was the culmination of all the peaceful efforts of moral necessity. It is this ingredient in the body politic that makes me hopeful while we suffer. Passing through the great change, under horrors that never can be told, I feel that the old government, with all its false promises, unholy compromises; with the profanity and bitter hate in its Congress; the fraud and deceit among its people; had better die, and look forward to the new birth, as far purer and greater than any thing we have ever seen; for it must be a resurrection far in advance of any government yet framed. But to secure all this, for this is the regenerative age, we must be pre-

pared to accept the great truths of our Heavenly Father, which embody all love, all charity and all good.

Beware how we encourage vengeance and disrespect the inviolability of human life. We have no right to destroy that which we cannot restore, perhaps the fairest creation of God in limb and form—perfect in health, fresh in vigor and animated with some good motives. Such often compose armies, the very ones who ought to live to people the earth with the best offspring. But they are the accepted of the army, to be diseased, maimed or killed, and we have in place a nation of cripples and invalids. The rejected are the “blind and the halt,”—the weak and imperfect left at home to perpetuate the race. America! dearly beloved country, look to the mistake! Adopt a different policy, and let no move be made to fasten war upon us, by lauding West Point, recommending military training for our youth, and establishing military academies throughout the land. This will engender a warlike spirit, and we will find ourselves drifting back into barbarism and ruin.

And why put our trust in arms that are carnal and wicked? They have never succeeded in establishing permanent peace, and in the very nature of the means can never do so. War will beget war. And why feel that the destinies of our race and country are in the hands of an army, vast and efficient though it be? How can it save when we know that Deity is so constantly profaned; that a million of oaths are uttered every day in an army such as we have had, and that has been the best the world has ever known; when the maddening wine cup is passed round, and all kinds of dissipation are indulged? Beware how we trust such agencies, for they will recoil with stunning effect! It behoves every truly patriotic, loyal and Christian man and woman, to be most active in promulgating the *highest virtues* for our nation; to demand the fullest recognition of the rights of man for every created being; to make merit and morality our stand-point; to ignore the sword-power as the immoral force and inaugurate the principle of love as the moral force; and denounce intemperance, deceit, fraud,

oppression and that fearful profanity which is so nearly universal throughout the land. Then our country will be redeemed and insure a life of supreme glory—for such a course will *make for Peace!*

Let us not be discouraged or alarmed. The soil under our feet, the heavens above us, and the soul within us cannot be taken away. We have our Father's priceless and impartial inheritance—this beautiful country—our free agency and our immortal souls—this much of nationality, individuality and spirituality, all our own, of which nothing can deprive us.

Our eyes are opened. Let us heed as we see. The only thing that can save our nation is *virtue*—public and private—the righteousness and purity of government, and the honesty and justice of the people.

Upon this immaculate and immutable principle would we proceed with our cause for Universal Peace, asking its acceptance throughout the world, with the more specific recommendation that all difficulties between nations be settled by an international tribunal of arbitration—each government agreeing to abide by its decisions.

I have confidence in the people, and can feel the pulse of my countrymen. They have warm, cordial and sympathizing hearts. They will aid in ameliorating the sufferings of friend or foe. They are diligent in providing for the sick and needy; the women of America, in this, are almost the saviors of the nation. The wants of the freedmen are supplied, and liberality is growing.

When the cry of want came across the waters, the "Griswold" dashed through old ocean's flood, sending the spray and foam in smiling chiding in the face of England's injustice and outrage. These things prove there is love in the hearts of our people.

Let us take courage and help each other to develop this love; for it is the purity of life, and *makes for Peace*. "First pure and then peaceable."